177 formerly had a few riding oxen. Both of these are due to European
492 contact. The Tsimahafy, at the northern end of the plateau, use oxen as pack animals and are recently have done so since pre-European times. The loads are placed in cloth bags, which are slung across the animal behind the hump, one hanging on each side.

283 It is safe to say that if all the cattle belonging to the Tanala
556 Menabe were destroyed over night, no member of the tribe would miss a meal or suffer any other serious hardship. Their loss would be somewhat more serious to the Ikongo, but they would still be able to get along quite well without them. In spite of this lack of practical value, cattle are everywhere of great social importance.
[459] With the possible exception of slaves, which no longer exist, they represent the only form of interest-bearing investment possible under native conditions. Every man tries to accumulate as many as possible and his standing in the community is largely determined by
[771] the size of his herd. Charms to increase the fertility of cattle are common and cattle are only sold or killed in case of absolute necessity. They are regarded almost as members of the family and the idiosyncrasies of each animal are well known. One informant told me that they are the only animals which possess souls. They are not regarded
[782] as sacred, but the killing of an ox, either as a sacrifice or for meat, is an integral part of practically all important ceremonies.

• 685 Although the Tanala consider ordinary theft as one of the most
556 serious of all offenses, cattle stealing is regarded as honorable so long as the members of one's own village are not molested. In fact, it is considered a proper occupation for a young man of spirit and offers an easy road to wealth and advancement. The native attitude is comparable to that of our own Plains Indians toward horse
[721] stealing. Cattle formed the most important part of the spoil in warfare and a successful theft was in the nature of a war exploit. European efforts to suppress it have rather heightened the thief's prestige by increasing his hazards.

541 Bull baiting and watching fighting bulls were both important
764 sports in pre-European times. They still persist, but are becoming rare. I could get no information on bull baiting among the Ikongo, but it was probably a regular part of important funerals there, as among the Menabe. In the latter group it was customary, in the course of the funeral festivities, to drive up one or two bulls. These were baited by the young men, who would incite them to charge and then avoid their rushes, swing by their tails, leap on their backs, etc. A favorite trick was to await the charge, catch the bull's

witnesses. These were not put on oath, but could be informally cross-examined by anyone present. The spectators took part in the trial and their attitude had considerable influence on the *Asokwa-driwa*'s decision, which was final. I was unable to learn how the awards of the court were enforced. There seems to have been no special machinery for this, the pressure of public opinion being sufficient.

Criminal cases dealt with theft, very rarely murder, and witchcraft. Theft was a very serious offense and the thief, if caught in the act, might be killed out of hand. Suspects were tried by the village chief and *Fokwakwa*. They were not allowed representation by counsel and the proceedings seem to have been less formal and more heated than in civil cases. Witnesses were called when possible, but a thief might be convicted on circumstantial evidence alone. If found guilty he was forced to make full restitution and would usually be badly mauled by the spectators and jeered at for a long time afterward. If accused of a second or third offense, the thief would be sent to the *Asokwakwa* of the gens for judgment. This official might fine him to the extent of his property, or have him beaten, or both, but apparently he could not order him sold into slavery, or officially sentence him to death. However, if the culprit died as a result of the beating no one was held responsible. A criminal might appeal from the judgment of the *Asokwakwa* to that of the king, but this was not encouraged. An old offender who did so was likely to be brought in dead, with the explanation that he had tried to escape from his guards on the way. If he reached the king, the case was laid before the *Asokwakwade*, who made a thorough investigation and then submitted it to the king with a recommendation. The king's judgment was final, and if the accused appeared displeased he was fined on as for contempt of court. This fine went to the king, as did any other fine levied by him. In most places only the king had the right to pronounce sentence of death.

Murder was so rare that I could learn nothing of the procedure except that the murderer would probably be sent to the king, who would sentence him to death.

Although the Ibongo lacked the exaggerated fear of witchcraft which is present in many African tribes, they believed that there were certain persons, called *wpomosey*, who caused illness and death by magical means. This was the most serious of all offenses, being considered the equivalent of wholesale murder. An *wpomosey* always